

A Transplanted Scottish Presbyterian Culture: the Peregrination to New College, Edinburgh and the Impact of Free Kirk Evangelicalism on Debrecen Reformed College in Hungary

Abraham Kovács and Richárd Hörcsik

This essay intends to explore the impact of how a special form of Scottish Presbyterian culture was transplanted into the largest centre of Calvinist education in Hungary, Debrecen Reformed College.¹ Today the Erasmus exchange programmes provide fantastic opportunities for a vast number of students to study abroad. This scheme of the European Union contributes greatly to the formation of European citizenship and also provides excellent possibilities for the transfer of knowledge. However, such translation of ideas existed in the networking of Calvinist people centuries earlier as well. This essay will demonstrate that despite the centuries of Swiss, German, and Dutch theological influences upon the Hungarian Reformed theology since Reformation, from the middle of the nineteenth century a new influence of British – and particularly

¹ In Hungarian historiography ‘Calvinism’ and ‘Reformed faith’ are used interchangeably. This is how Hungarian Calvinist/Reformed people referred to themselves. Although they belong to the broader traditions which followed John Calvin’s teachings, they never referred to themselves as Presbyterians. It is because they developed a unique form of ecclesiastical structure in their Reformed faith which allowed them to accept the election of bishops. Yet, doctrinally speaking Hungarian Reformed/Calvinist churches adhere to the doctrinal statements set out by John Calvin.

Scottish – Evangelicalism appeared.² From 1865 a discernible flow of students connected two societies with Protestant cultures in which Calvinist outlooks were dominant, that is, Scotland and the eastern part of Hungary. In Europe the western frontier of Calvinism was Scotland while the eastern front was Hungary, including Transylvania. This paper demonstrates through the work of former bursars how influential Scottish evangelicalism reached Debrecen and argues that their impact preceded that of Budapest by a decade. Therefore, it will be claimed that the first ‘revival’, or rather theological and spiritual renewal, in Hungary came not from Budapest in the 1880s but rather began in the late-1860s in Debrecen.

Hungarian Peregrination to Scotland

The first nineteenth-century Hungarian students to travel abroad were Alfréd Edersheim and Sándor Tomory.³ Both went to Edinburgh with the aide of the missionaries of the Free Church Scotland of Pest in 1843.⁴ Their studies there were a result of the Scottish Mission’s activities in Hungary which aimed at the conversion of Jews since its arrival in 1841. These Jewish converts turned to Christ, whom they regarded as their *Savoir* and their decision to embrace the Christian faith was not based on political, civil or social motivations and gains.⁵ They were invited to Britain to be trained as missionaries that could return to their former co-

² Sándor Bíró, ‘From the War of Independence until World War I. 1849–1914’ in *The History of the Reformed Church of Hungary*, publication of Sándor Bíró and István Szilágyi, published by the Faculty of Church History (Sárospatak, 1949; repr. Sárospatak, 1995), pp. 384ff.

³ This preceded the scholarship fund, commonly called a bursary scheme, came into being in 1863 and the first persons arrived in 1865.

⁴ Both were Hungarian Christians converted from Judaism and worked in the Jewish Mission.

⁵ ‘Ballagi Mór és a Skót Misszió: megtérés, áttérés vagy kitérés? Egy liberális protestáns zsidó életútjának kezdete’ *Confessio* 2007. 31. évf. 3. Szám, pp. 109–125. This essay argues that the ‘father of Hungarian liberal Protestantism’ was not Ballagi.

religionists. There is little information about their studies. Adolf Saphir was a third student to travel from Hungary; he studied in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. He is the only child in the famous painting of Disruption of the Scottish Kirk which hangs in Edinburgh Theological Seminary. Through John Duncan, the first missionary to the Jews in Hungary and his associates, Saphir was taken to Scotland with the support of the Scottish Mission based in Hungary. He began his studies in Scotland in 1854, during the period of the tyranny of Alexander Bach, the Habsburg minister of interior who did not allow any Protestant missionary activities for which the young boy was destined to prepare.⁶ The Free Church of Scotland Scholarship Fund which offered scholarships to students from Debrecen Reformed College was established almost a decade later in 1863.

Though the Scottish missionaries had founded several charities and voluntary organisations in Hungary between 1841 and the early 1860s, they were interested in finding a further means of influencing the spiritual life of the Hungarian Reformed Church.⁷ The Committee of the Jewish Mission of Edinburgh, which maintained the mission station in Pest, decided that the formation of a scholarship fund might create the possibility to foster more cordial ties with the Reformed Church, which was opening up slowly.⁸ The committee thought that the students holding stipends would gain an insight into the life of the Free Church of Scotland and by participating in their vibrant life that may be imbibed with true Christian faith and a spirit of Evangelicalism. This experience would in turn manifest itself in the life of the Hungarian Reformed Church when the students returned home.

⁶ W. Innes Addison, *A Roll of the Graduates of the University of Glasgow 1727–1897* (Glasgow, 1898).

⁷ Ábrahám Kovács, *History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews in Budapest and its Impact on the Reformed Church of Hungary* (Oxford-Vienna-Frankfurt Am Main, 2006), pp. 45ff.

⁸ Ábrahám Kovács: 'Two Calvinist Centres discovering each other', in Sándor Gaál and László Gonda (eds), *En Christo* (Debrecen, 2004), pp. 177–186.

The idea of creating a scholarship programme was originally proposed by the committee of the mission, but the famous orientalist John Duncan – also known as ‘Rabbi Duncan’ – who was the first Jewish missionary, as well as by Alexander Moody-Stuart, the committee’s president, supported it. It is not by chance that in 1862 the two men were included in a delegation which arrived at Budapest for the case of Adriann van Andel.⁹ The Dutchman was their chief missionary, but he caused enormous tensions between Reformed Hungarians and the missionary station, resulting in the need for a visitation to Pest in order to check on the situation.¹⁰ However, their presence in Hungary offered them an opportunity and further motivation to provide Hungarian students with scholarship opportunities in Scotland. For this reason Rabbi Duncan and Alexander Moody-Stuart travelled not only to Pest, which was the base of the Scottish activities, but also to Debrecen – the ‘Hungarian Calvinist Rome’ – where they visited the senior minister of Debrecen, Imre Révész senior.¹¹ This was a memorable encounter for him.¹² The Scots made good politicians because both Pál Török and Imre Révész, Sr., leaders of the Reformed Church in Pest and Debrecen, were informed of the Scots’ intension at the same time. Back home, Duncan and Moody-Stuart proposed to establish a scholarship programme for Czech and Hungarian students.¹³ The

⁹ Imre Révész, Sr, *Calvin's Life*, (ed.) Ferenc Balogh, 3rd edn (Debrecen, 1909), pp. 353, 356. Révész was famous in the Reformed Church for his struggle against the Protestant Patent. Cf. John Duncan, ‘Assembly Address 22 May, 1863’ in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1863* (Edinburgh, 1863), pp. 19–20 at p. 19. Cf. S. Sinclair, *Rich Gleanings after the Vintage from ‘Rabbi’ Duncan with Biographical Sketch*, 2nd edn (London, 1925), p. 376.

¹⁰ Ábrahám Kovács, *The History of the German-speaking Reformed Affiliated Church of Budapest 1858–1869* (Debrecen, 2004), pp. 43–50.

¹¹ Ferenc Balogh, *The Register of the Debrecen Reformed College Foundation, that is Series of Foundations, Traditions and Donators I, II, III partly from 1550 until 1911* (Debrecen, 1911), p. 226

¹² Imre Révész, Jr, *The Life of Imre Révész 1826–1881* (Debrecen, 1926), p. 85.

¹³ Lajos Csiky, *Review of the Free Church of Scotland* (Debrecen, 1877), p. 54.

committee prepared the topic for the annual general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland held in May 1863 and Moody-Stuart himself delivered an enthusiastic speech:

We wish to commence with four bursaries of about £50 each for three years – two for Bohemia, and two for Hungary. We have already received more than half of what we require, in sums varying from £2 to £50 and I trust that the remainder will be promised before the Assembly closes. (Applause) One subscription is peculiarly gratifying; it is £30 from the London Ladies' Association for the Jews, *in the hope that the Hungarian and Bohemian Churches may be induced to seek the conversion of the Jews in Hungary and Bohemia.*¹⁴

After this event the people of the Scottish Free Kirk showed an even greater interest in receiving Hungarian students. Despite early enthusiasm and the collection of funds, nobody arrived from Hungary for the academic years of 1863/1864 or 1864/1865. No reasons are given in Hungarian sources. The first person to take the award was a newly graduated student of Debrecen, Ferenc Balogh, who travelled to Edinburgh in 1865 on the recommendations of Imre Révész and Bishop Péter Balogh.¹⁵ Soon after his arrival, Balogh was surprised to learn that the founders of the scholarship programme were disappointed that no Hungarian student had arrived to occupy the position during the previous two years. This was in contrast to the Bohemian (Czech) Reformed Church, which did send students. Duncan claimed that the requirements for the scholarship were as follows: adequate knowledge of the language and the student had to be able to arrive by May or June, so that he could improve his English and get ready for the following academic year

¹⁴ Alexander Moody-Stuart, 'Conversion of the Jews Friday, May 22 1863', in *Proceedings of the General Assembly of Free Church of Scotland Held at Edinburgh May, 1863* (Edinburgh, 1865), 14–22 at p. 14. Italics added.

¹⁵ Ferenc Balogh, 'Edinburgh Journal', Manuscript Collection of the Library of the University of Debrecen, Ms 28/3. fol. 4.

starting in November. The candidate was expected to lead a morally impeccable life and be a devoted Christian.¹⁶ It was Ferenc Balogh's trip to Scotland during the spring and summer of 1865 which kick-started the previously stagnant scholarship programme. Balogh was appointed as a professor of church history and dogma upon his return and became a devoted champion of the transplantation of Scottish Evangelicalism. Through him generations of students were exposed to a new Scottish religious subculture, which profoundly influenced the life and spirituality of the Reformed Church of Hungary, more specifically that of Debrecen Reformed College. Balogh established *Hittanszaki Önképző Kör* (Self-training Society of Theological Students) in 1869 which was based on the missionary society he witnessed among the students of New College. He presided over the meetings of this voluntary association where the future leaders of the church learned to express their ideas and visions. A magazine named *Közlöny (Gazette)* was printed and written by the student society. The new professor laid an emphasis on the daily reading of the Bible. He was a fervent supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Tract Society as well. The Scottish missionaries always asked for his advice and he recommended the students from Debrecen for Edinburgh for nearly four decades. Balogh, as a young professor, encouraged a range of activities, although his main emphasis was on how the Gospel should be defended against the challenges of modern liberal theology, Darwinism, materialism and socialism. Owing to this role he used Cunningham's book on historical theology to bolster his argument while Debrecen debated with the extreme liberalism of Pest. He was instrumental in persuading his colleagues to issue a declaration of faith in 1875 signed by all professors of theology in Debrecen. Taking up the 'banner of truth', Balogh launched an evangelical periodical named *Evangéliomi Protestáns Lap* which was to counterbalance the liberal dominance in theological press. He

¹⁶ Ibid., Ms 28/3, fol. 14–5.

also published numerous books and articles on the history of doctrine. Under the special circumstances at Debrecen Reformed College, he taught apologetics which would have traditionally been the responsibility of his colleague Sámuel Tóth, who was professor of Systematic Theology. He taught only the necessary classes since his main energies were consumed by the vast administrative duties of the Transtibiscan Reformed Diocese where he was the chief clerk.

The second round of students comprised two theologians from Debrecen and Budapest, namely László Dapsy and János Dömötör. It is interesting that they were neither actually involved in Scottish conservative Evangelicalism nor in the mission to the Jews. Dapsy was a liberal thinker and later spread Darwinism, which cannot be considered as a conservative way of thinking. Dömötör was interested in philosophy, rather than theology.¹⁷ He was keen on literature and poetry as well. His talent was recognised by his teachers as he was asked to teach at the theological school in Budapest. However, he died at an early age.¹⁸ They were the first students to commence and herald the new era. Balogh and Dapsy's theological stances show that evangelical and liberal minded students participated in the bursary programme which has seen a constant flow of students from Debrecen down to the present. 2015 will represent the 150th anniversary of the programme.

A Discernible Scottish Calvinist and Evangelical Influence

The students returning to Debrecen, who had enjoyed scholarships, made use of their knowledge acquired in Scotland in various ways. From 1865 the Edinburgh students impacted Hungary's largest and most influential Protestant community, the Reformed Church of Hungary in three areas. Some Hungarian church historians of the

¹⁷ Ábrahám Kovács, 'The role of László Dapsy in the spread of Darwinism and its theological reception', *Confessio*, L.3 (2007), 151–155 and Ábrahám Kovács, 'Darwin's first contact with Debrecen', *Debrecen Review* 15.3 (2007), 393–403.

¹⁸ Mihály Babits, *The Dead Authors of Literature* (1910), 1, 734–742. See also: Aladár Komlós, *D. J. Hungarian Poetry from Petőfi to Ady* (Budapest, 1959).

twentieth century wrote about a 'pietist impact' of the Scottish Mission. However, this choice of words is unfortunate because it employs a term more generally applied to continental Lutheran or Reformed pietism and alludes to these as the most influential revivalist impetus on the Reformed Church of Hungary. Based on earlier research, it has been concluded that compared to the German '*Innere Mission*' the 'influence of the evangelical wave was much more significant in Hungary'.¹⁹ To bolster Hörcsik claims, it has been demonstrated that the Scottish Mission integrated both theological schools and programmes (pietism and evangelicalism), but it is also important to consider that the institutions (the primary and secondary school for Jewish pupils, the colportage system to distribute Bibles and evangelical tracts, the German-speaking Affiliated Church, the establishment of the Bethesda hospital, not least the Scottish scholarship programme) were set up and managed by the Scottish Mission that represented a kind of Reformed evangelicalism. Furthermore the voluntary associations, such as the YMCA, the Sunday school movement, women guilds, and the like, drew on the achievement of Scottish Calvinism of the Free Kirk which was a bastion of evangelical faith not only in Scotland but in England and across Europe as well.²⁰

It is possible to identify three distinct areas of Scottish impact in the Reformed history of Hungary. These areas were, in chronological, order: Debrecen, the Lowlands and Budapest. First of all, the significance and impact of the so-called 'Debrecen Awakening' began the movement of the Debrecen New Orthodoxy in the 1870s.²¹ János Csohány's critical work has demonstrated that

¹⁹ Richárd Hörcsik, 'Az edinburghi magyar peregrináció rövid története' (A Brief History of the Hungarian Peregrination), in *Tovább. Emlékkönyv Makkai László 75 születésének évfordulójára*, szerk. Barcza József (Debrecen, 1988), pp. 161–182 at p. 172.

²⁰ Kovács, *History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission*, pp. 357–380.

²¹ Ábrahám Kovács, '*Hítvédelem és egyháziasság. A debreceni újortodoxia vitája a liberális teológiával*' (Defending faith and Concerns for the Church. The Debate of the New Orthodoxy of Debrecen with liberal theology) (Budapest, 2010).

the writings concerning the nineteenth-century history of the Reformed church have tended to overemphasize the role of Aladár Szabó²² and the centrality of Budapest and neglected to shed proper light on the role of other traditional centres of the church. Monographs or edited volumes covering the history of the long nineteenth century have failed to pay adequate attention to the contribution and influence of Debrecen, Kolozsvár, Sárospatak and Pápa Reformed Colleges. Second, we must consider the significance of the revival movement coordinated by Aladár Szabó from Budapest. There a very decisive initiative emerged from the evangelical groups of a new Reformed congregation which formed voluntary societies and associations. However, we shall argue that Debrecen's 'revival', due to the Scottish influence, preceded that of Budapest and it was different in terms of forms and nature.²³ Third, based on Imre Révész's pioneering study, we can underline the 'Awakening movement of the lowland' influenced major towns in the countryside in the early 1880s. This means that apart from Debrecen and Budapest, the two large cities, there was another significant area where the Scottish evangelical impact made its influence felt. Recent research pointed out that many church historians like Mihály Bucsay, Sándor Csekey and others came from the Budapest evangelical centres of faith, and the voluntary associations that were first formed in Budapest, and consequently Budapest became the national centre in the narratives. These factors falsely created the impression for them that everything concerning the evangelical revival initiated by the Scottish Mission happened in

²² Sándor Bíró, 'From the Revolution until the World War 1849–1914', in Bíró és Szilágyi (eds), *History of the Hungarian Reformed Church*, pp. 387ff.

²³ Höresik, 'A Brief History of the Hungarian Peregrination', p. 174.

Budapest to such an extent that the role of Debrecen and the South-Lowlands began to fade.²⁴

Recent research based on Scottish, British, German and Hungarian sources has shown the ways in which the Scottish Mission coordinated all three areas of impact and how well it could cooperate with each at different times.²⁵ It is beyond doubt, the 'Debrecen awakening' and the 'Lowland awakening' were not properly addressed by the Budapest-centred writing of Hungarian church history which attempted to give an overarching explanation to the story of revival and came to dominate the historical interpretation of the Reformed Church of Hungary. It has been pointed out that this was due to a lack of conducting local research or that some of the brilliant studies of Imre Révész on the awakening of the South-lowland escaped the attention of influential historians. Finally, it has to be underlined that for many decades the publication of church history, especially on evangelical revival and associations, were suppressed by the communist regime. This resulted in historians often simply repeating what had been written prior to the 1940s and 1950s.²⁶ From the 1980s Richárd Hörcsik's preliminary study marked a real breakthrough in this field which was followed by Anne-Marie Kool's works in the 1990s.²⁷ Their research was completed and nuanced by the works of younger scholars, providing much needed necessary syntheses that revealed the three distinct lines of impact in Debrecen, Budapest and the Lowlands. Examining the history of the intellectual, cultural and social effects of Scottish

²⁴ Ábrahám Kovács, 'Missziói, egyházépítési és egyházi megújulási elgondolások találkozása és gyakorlati megvalósulása a Budapesti Református Egyházban a 19. század végén' (Attempts to Reform Church Sociology and Inner Mission at the End of the 19th Century), in Balázs Ódor és Géza Xeravits (eds), *Theory and Practice in the History of the Jew-Christian Thinking* (Pápa, 2005), pp. 154–179.

²⁵ See Kovács, *History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission*.

²⁶ Imre Révész, 'Egy fejezet a magyar református ébredés történetéből A. N. Somerville magyarországi körútja 1887–1888', *Theológiai Szemle*, 19.1 (1943), 10–45.

²⁷ Anne-Marie Kool, *God Moves in Mysterious Ways* (Zoetmeter, 1993).

Protestantism demonstrates how ideas were transplanted from Scotland to Hungary through the student bursars.

Researching the work of peregrinating students in Scotland, and in particular those who studied in Edinburgh in the 1860s and early 1870s, it is apparent that not all these students took home the modern social, cultural achievements of Britain and modern theology. It becomes clear from the study of the sources, as we shall see, that some were not so keenly interested in evangelical activities, belief or practices, although this was the original intention of the founders who established the bursaries. However, other students did bring the influence of British evangelicalism back to Hungary and this can be also traced in the life and work students who studied at New College from late 1870s onward. Through them the home and foreign missionary movements as well as voluntary organisations established roots in Hungary and exerted a great influence over the Protestant communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this way the broader liberal and evangelical theological traditions in Britain were both fed into the Hungarian Reformed Church.

Many pioneering but not so well known figures of the emerging liberal group in the nineteenth century can be found amongst the Edinburgh bursars. László Dapsy (1865–66), the first bursar from Debrecen, spread Darwinism and was also the first person in Hungary to translate *The Origin of Species*. Belonging to the landed gentry, he was the first among that social class who opted for an intellectual profession rather than pursuing the traditional careers of nobles and showed deep interest in economics and biology.²⁸ Apart from this he also supported the transplantation of the most modern theological discourses and progressive Western European ideas into the Hungarian Association of Natural Sciences.²⁹ In fact, he was one of the leaders of that society.

²⁸ Kovács, 'Darwin első kapcsolata Debrecennel'.

²⁹ Béla Mester, *Magyarország és modernitás – 'A társasági filozófia' lehetősége és 19. századi magyar politikai gondolkodás* [Hungary and Modernity – Chances of a 'Social Philosophy' and Political Thought in 19th-Century Hungary]

Lajos Tabajdy (1866–67) was the next student to go to Edinburgh from Debrecen after Dapsy.³⁰ He also came from a middle class, noble family. His younger brother was Károly Tabajdy, an under-sheriff in Arad County. During his scholarship years in Edinburgh, Tabajdy wrote regular reports for Hungarian national and weekly magazines about Scotland. He produced several short reports about Scottish and English theological schools.³¹ Moreover, he was also interested in topics that related to the issues of church and ecclesiastical education.³² Having returned from Edinburgh he served as a Reformed minister in Szatmár County.³³ He cultivated excellent and cordial ties with the Scottish theological liberals. His inauguration speech was published in the ‘Protestant Church and School Newspaper’ (*Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap*), a forum for liberal theology.³⁴ As a minister he also wrote articles for the weekly periodical.³⁵ He brought home reports of the vibrant life of the religious associations that he saw in the Scottish kirk. In one of his speeches he talked about ‘the need to establish a school for girls.’³⁶ Tabajdy was active as a historian. He helped edit the memoir published by the Szatmár church presbytery in remembrance of sr. Áron Kiss’ 25-year-long ministry as a dean. The launch event

<http://zeus-phil-inst.hu/recepcio/htm/213-belso.htm> [accessed 3 July 2014].

³⁰ *Budapesti Hirlap* 1899. 98. sz. (Nekr.) Lásd még Szabó S. József, Debreczeni lelkészvár (Telegdi K. L. 1902) Lásd még: TtREL I. 1. J. cited by Gabriella Sárközi.

³¹ Lajos Tabajdy, ‘Külföldi egyház és iskola’, *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap* (*Protestant Church and School Paper*) [hereafter *PEIL*] 10 (1867), 405–410.

³² Lajos Tabajdy, ‘Reformed vagy Cameronian és English Presbyteranism I’, *PEIL* 10 (1867), pp. 807–814, and ‘Reformed vagy Cameronian és English Presbyteranism II’, *PEIL* 10 (1867), pp. 838–846.

³³ Kiss Kálmán, *Szatmári református egyházmegye története* (Kecskemét, 1878), p. 357.

³⁴ Lajos Tabajdy, ‘Beköszöntő egyházi beszéd. Szatmár, 1876’, *PEIL* 19 (1876), pp. 403–406.

³⁵ Lajos Tabajdy, ‘Külföldi Egyház és Iskola’, *PEIL* 10 (1867).

³⁶ http://epa.oszk.hu/01900/01991/00010/pdf/protestans_szemle_1897_10_607-616.pdf [accessed 3 July 2014].

took place in the town of Szatmár on 17 September 1885.³⁷ Tabajdy was an active proponent of liberal ideas till his death. He passed away in April 1899 at the age of only 58. It is conspicuous that some of the Hungarian students sympathised with liberal political and theological schools, but the conservative stance of evangelicals took root quickly in Debrecen.

Students who brought a significant evangelical Scottish impact to the Hungarian Reformed piety and church life included Ferenc Márk (1874–76), Lajos Csiky (1875–77) and Endre Bethlendi (1876–78). They all studied for a full three years in Edinburgh. The latter two also became professors in Debrecen. The first, Ferenc Márk, having completed his studies in Edinburgh went to Jena, German where gained his doctorate with dissertation entitled *Thomas Carlyle und seine Philosophie* in June 1876.³⁸ This title did not directly exhibit his interest in the Scottish piety, however, it is evident in some of his other publications in which he considered home mission an important activity of the church and used the Scottish kirk as an example. His *The Concept, Significance of and Reason for Inner Mission* defends the necessity of doing home mission and highlights the Scottish impact through their missionaries in Budapest. He even he lobbied for a home mission carried out by Hungarian people.³⁹ His intention was to make home mission a popular activity among Hungarian evangelicals. Further writings of Márk allude to the fact that he belonged to the first generation of scholars, theologians and ministers who joined the new orthodoxy of Debrecen established by Ferenc Balogh and Imre Révész. While staying in Scotland as a bursar, he wrote a review about an

³⁷ http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00021/00076/pdf/mk_1886_I-XCIII.pdf [accessed 3 July 2014].

³⁸ Jenő Zoványi, *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon szerk. Ladányi Sándor* (Budapest, 1977), p. 389.

³⁹ Ferenc Márk, 'A belmisszió fogalma, jelentősége és létjogosultsága' *Protestáns Szemle* (*Protestant Review*), 12. 1–X füzet (1900), pp. 550–559.

Ferenc Márk, 'A reformáció befolyása az erdélyi románokra', *Protestáns Szemle*, 12. 1–X füzet (1900), pp. 497–504.

orphanage run by the well-known George Müller in Bristol.⁴⁰ A year later he also showed that the unfolding Debrecen orthodoxy had a strong spiritual connection with Scottish evangelicalism and refused the fashionable liberal theological trend in Budapest which owed greatly to German influences. He articulated an apt critical remark about liberalism while reporting on the assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in the *Evangelical Protestant Paper* (*Evangyéliomi Protestáns Lap*): 'there is great difference between philanthropy and Christian philanthropy.'⁴¹ His apologetic work, which opposed the materialistic view of advocated by some natural scientist, was written when he was at home in 1877.⁴² This work clearly exhibits a Scottish impact of evangelical Hungarian Christianity. He also wrote an article about Herbert Spencer's theory of evolution. Márk was greatly interested in the accomplishments of the early reformers as well. As a professor of Debrecen Reformed College, albeit only for a short time, he penned several popular articles about Calvin and Beza, but also John Knox.⁴³ Similarly to most scholarship holders whether they preferred liberal or evangelical-orthodox theology, he was also keen on learning more about the Scottish secular – as well

⁴⁰ Ferenc Márk, 'Müller György a nagy philantróp Bristolban', *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* (Hungarian Protestant Church and School Guardian) [Hereafter *MPEIFRv*], 5. 5–6 (1874. május és június), pp. 261–269.

⁴¹ Ferenc Márk, 'A skótziai szabadegyház egyetemes gyülekezései', *Evangyéliomi Protestáns Lap* [Hereafter *EPL*] 1.27 (1875), 246–7 at p. 247.

⁴² Ferenc Márk, 'A természettudományoknak korlátolt határa a ker. vallással szemben', *EPL* 3.4, 5 (1877), pp. 25–27; 33–35.

⁴³ Ferenc Márk, 'Kálvin mint író', *Protestáns Szemle* 16 (1904), pp. 416–421.

Ferenc Márk, 'A debreceni protestáns egyetem', *Protestáns Szemle* 16 (1904), pp. 69–76.

Ferenc Márk, 'Bocskay István és a bécsi béke', *Protestáns Szemle* 16 (1904), pp. 217–225; 'Protestantizmus és szocializmus', *Protestáns Szemle* 16 (1904), pp. 489–495; 'Emlékezés Knox Jánosról', *Protestáns Szemle* 17 (1905), pp. 277–287 and 'Béza genfi reformátori működése', *Protestáns Szemle* 17 (1905), pp. 429–436; Ferenc Márk, 'Kálvin a barátain körében', *Protestáns Szemle* 19 (1907), pp. 520–536; 'Kálvin János és Servét Mihály', *Protestáns Szemle* 21. 1–X füzet (1909), pp. 444–457; and, Lásd még *Leo Toljstov* *Protestáns Szemle* 22. 1–X füzet (1910), pp. 666–670.

as Christian – education and studied British literature. He set Calvin's pedagogical work and the Scottish evangelical education forward as examples to the Hungarian Reformed Church. Similarly to the nineteenth-century evangelical hagiographies written about the reformers of Scotland by the likes of Thomas M'Crie, so too the great Hungarian men of faith were exalted as exemplary figures. János Arany's piety, who was one of the most influential poets of nineteenth century Hungary, was commended whole-heartedly to Márk's readers.⁴⁴ Finally, he proved to be a great supporter of the home mission model he saw in Scotland to revive his native, Hungarian church. His concept of mission reflected that churches, not societies, are called to carry out mission at home and abroad.⁴⁵ Ferenc Márk's life and literary work undoubtedly highlights the Scottish evangelical impact unfolding in nineteenth century Debrecen.

Nonetheless, the Scottish Presbyterian influence can be most clearly discerned in the oeuvre of Lajos Csiky, a professor of Practical Theology at Debrecen Reformed College. The theological school of thought represented by Ferenc Balogh and Imre Révész was taken over by Lajos Csiky from the 1880s. He was a leading figure who had enjoyed the scholarship of the Free Kirk and spent one and half years in Edinburgh from the autumn of 1875.⁴⁶ Csiky was one of the most able students of Debrecen. Being encouraged and supported by Ferenc Balogh, the young student of theology and art, who was only 23 years old, moved to Scotland. Having finished his studies there, Csiky spent more than a year in Basel, Switzerland from the spring of 1877 till the summer of 1878. The impact of these years was not reflected in his literary work in any significant way, although he encountered German pietism. His great talent was also

⁴⁴ Ferenc Márk, 'A genfi főiskola és Kálvin pedagógiai rendszere', *Protestáns Szemle* 19 (1907), pp. 65–76. See also: Ferenc Márk, 'Arany János és a vallás', *Protestáns Szemle* 19 (1907), pp. 446–457.

⁴⁵ R., 'Magyar Missió', *EPL* 1.50 (1975) p. 442. Vö. Csiky Lajos, 'Az edinburghi hallgatók Missiói Társulata', *EPL* 2.18 (1876), p. 145.

⁴⁶ Zoványi, p. 127.

proven when he received the title private *dozent*, a professor of theology in 1878.⁴⁷ Taking a quick glance of his accomplishments, the Scottish evangelical impact seems to have been decisive in his approach to church and mission. Conforming to the practices of peregrinating students Csiky regularly sent home reports of his encounters with Scottish evangelicalism during his scholarship years. Ferenc Balogh often published his articles in the *EPL*, which was considered to be the herald of the new orthodoxy of Debrecen. His initial publications provided information about the life of the Scottish churches. He sent a detailed account about the annual general assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and popularized the attractive Scottish church life in another article.⁴⁸ Owing to the influence of Balogh, Csiky developed an interest in home mission while still a student. Following the encouragement of his professor he gave a report about the missionary society of theological students in Edinburgh. Here he reasoned that Hungary should take part in foreign mission. He was of the view that there could no longer be any excuse for the Hungarian nation to continue to neglect foreign mission. With the end of persecution of Protestant churches the time had come to pursue foreign mission.

In 1881 Lajos Csiky was appointed to the Debrecen Theological Seminary as professor of Practical Theology (1881–1914). Having returned from Scotland, where he was impressed by Scottish evangelicalism, he published a series of articles about the life of the Free Church, the work of Tract Societies and diaconal work.⁴⁹ He began to translate Patrick Fairbairn's work on Pastoral Theology in

⁴⁷ Csiky Lajos, 'Csiky Lajos a Debreceni Koll. magántanárnak hazatérése a Baseli Egyetemről', *EPL* 4 (1878).

⁴⁸ Csiky Lajos, 'A Skót Szabadegyház egyetemes gyűlése május 18-30-ig bezárólag', *Evangeliumi Protestáns Lap*, 2.23, 25, 29, 30, 34 (1876), 184–5: 207–8; 243–4; 250–2; 282–3; idem., *A Skót Szabad Egyház ismertetése* (Debrecen, 1877)

⁴⁹ Lajos Csiky, *A Skót Szabad Egyház ismertetése* (Debrecen, 1877).

1877 which appeared in the Debrecen based *EPL*.⁵⁰ It also appeared, though much later, as a book.⁵¹ This represented the beginning of Csiky's authorship and translation of a large number of articles and books. Jenő Zoványi, the prominent church historian, said of Csiky: 'He had an extraordinary literary output and published through all contemporary Protestant periodicals, even popular texts were written by him'.⁵² He often published on various issues of home mission such as mission to prisoners, the disabled and the sick.⁵³ He was aware of the mission to the Jews yet his primary concern was the revival of the Reformed Church. We find no indication of an explicit intent to pursue a mission to the Jews in his writings.⁵⁴ In line with his main concern, he intended to inform the Hungarian church of the work of the Evangelical Alliance and the German *Innere Mission*.⁵⁵ Csiky was among the first to use such terms as 'home mission' and sought to adapt Scottish evangelicalism to Hungarian soil.⁵⁶ He lectured on the history of home mission abroad and in Hungary at the annual conference of the Békés-Bánát Church District held in

⁵⁰ Patrick Fairbairn was the principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow and a 'distinguished divine' whose book entitled *Pastoral Theology* was published in 1875. He had long pastoral experience including the 'Extension' church of Bridgeton in the city of Glasgow. James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies. A Memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh, 1881), pp. 245–252. Cf. N. R. Needham, 'Millennialism', in Nigel M. de S. Cameron et al (eds) *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 313–4. Lajos Csiky, 'Lelkipásztorkodástan (Néh. Fairbairn Patrick Hittudor, a Glasgowi Szabad Egyházi Koll. Igazgatója művének ismertetése)', *EPL*, 4.1, 3, 9, 30, 34, 35, 42, 44, 45 (1877).

⁵¹ Lajos Csiky, *Lelkipásztorkodástan. Theologia Pastolaris* (Budapest, 1908).

⁵² Zoványi, pp. 127–8.

⁵³ Lajos Csiky, *Képek a magyar börtönügy történetéből* (Budapest, 1892). For a discussion of the Jews see: Lajos Csiky, 'Izraelért', *DPL* 15.47 (1895), 574–78.

⁵⁴ Lajos Csiky, 'Könyvismertetés. Krisztus és az Írás. Dr. Saphir Adolph György Vilmos által angolból fordított művének ismertetése', *PH Protestáns* 1.1 (1879), pp. 9–10.

⁵⁵ Lajos Csiky, 'Lord Shaftesbury', *DPL*, 5.45 (1885), 395–396. See also: Lajos Csiky, 'Wichern J. H., a Németországi belmisszió atyja', *Protestáns Szemle* (1895), pp. 514–76.

⁵⁶ Lajos Csiky, 'Belmissziói munka Debrecenben', *DPL* 3.32 (1883), p. 346.

Nagybecskerek where József Szalay, a fellow Edinburgh scholarship holder from Budapest, was a minister.⁵⁷ Csiky was also concerned to set a model of personal piety for church members. To this end he wrote about prayer and the observance of the 'Sabbath', features on which strong emphasis was laid in Scottish evangelicalism.⁵⁸ He kept in close contact with W. G. Blaikie and J. G. Cunningham, both prominent persons in the Free Church.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that Csiky exerted a great influence through his teaching as well as his publications and was keen on introducing an element of the piety he saw in Scotland. Taking all into consideration it is not an overstatement to claim that Csiky was one of the most important forerunners of home mission in the Hungarian Reformed church.⁶⁰

It is Lajos Csiky who set the Scottish evangelical churches, along with the German pietists, as examples to the Reformed Church of Hungary. In so doing he carried out the same mission programme that the Scottish mission and Aladár Szabó initiated in Budapest. After Ferenc Balogh he became the second highly influential theological professor of the Debrecen new orthodoxy. As the state of our current research stands, it is clear that Csiky overwhelmingly published more articles on mission than the other great figure of home mission, Aladár Szabó. Csiky's great influence has not yet even been acknowledged in the historiography of Hungarian church, although, beside Ferenc Balogh, he was clearly an extremely prolific teacher of the largest theological school of the Hungarian church.

⁵⁷ Lajos Csiky, 'A belmissió vázlatos története s jelenkori állása a külföldön és a magyarországi ev. ref. egyházban', *DePL*, 7.25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (1887).

⁵⁸ Lajos Csiky, 'A vasárnapi munkaszünet', *DPL* 11.29 (1891), pp. 261–3.

⁵⁹ Lajos Csiky, 'Egy külföldi barátunk ötven éves lelkészi jubileuma Dr. William Garden Blaikie edinburghi teológiai tanár 50 éves lelkészkedése emlékére', *DPL* 13.1 (1893), p. 16; Lajos Csiky, 'Skót vendég hazánkban (Dr. Cunningham János György Budapestén)', *DPL* 21.42 (1901), pp. 668–9.

⁶⁰ His life has not been thoroughly researched though it deserves more attention since he was also one of the first promoters of home mission movements in Debrecen.

Not all the students were so activity orientated as Csiky. Endre Bethendi, who studied in Edinburgh with Csiky between 1875 and 1876, was a quiet, amiable and philosophical minded character. He remained in Edinburgh for another school year (1876–77) and was joined by Peter Ambrus, also a student from Debrecen. Similar to Csiky, after completing his studies in Scotland Bethendi studied in Basel from 1878. As a peregrinating student he stayed even longer in the West than Csiky and in so doing he attended lectures at the University of Geneva in 1879–80. Altogether he spent four years at Western European universities. On his return home he became an assistant professor at the University of Debrecen Reformed College from 1880. Then in 1884 he became professor of Old Testament studies and philosophy of religion. Thus, he was the first incumbent of the newly established fifth chair of theology, and led the department of Old Testament.⁶¹ The peculiar aspect of this initiative of the university is that up until 1884 it only had a ‘department of exegesis’. Then, the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District, by a legislative enactment, established the Department of Old Testament. As a result the department of exegesis became the Department of New Testament.⁶² The Old Testament department was led by Bethendi’s father-in-law, Professor János Menyhárt, who was chiefly responsible for the text setting out the theological stance of Debrecen’s new orthodoxy, which later came to be known as the Debrecen Confession of 1875.⁶³ This document was a milestone in the fierce debate between the liberal theology advocated from Budapest and the emerging new theological stance that was labelled the new orthodoxy of Debrecen.⁶⁴ As a young scholar, Bethendi published three lengthy studies in the *Debrecen Protestant Paper*

⁶¹ *A Debreceni Református Kollégium története* szerk. Barcza József (Budapest, 1988), p. 248.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Csaba Fekete, *Menyhárt János kollégiumi professzor élete különös tekintettel munkásságára* (Debrecen, 1964) manuscript. fol. 6.

⁶⁴ Ábrahám Kovács, *Hitvédelem és egyháziasság. A debreceni újortodoxia vitája a liberális teológiával* (Budapest, 2010), p. 60.

(*Debreceni Protestáns Lap*) and one in the academy's bulletin. He was most interested in the contemporary concerns of theology in the nineteenth century. He held a moderate evangelical view which came to the surface in his arguments published in two articles entitled 'The Method a Revelation' and 'The Role of Miracle in Revelation'.⁶⁵ Slightly later he produced a superbly written, but difficult, piece of work employing the language of philosophy of religion in his 'Significance of Prophecy in Revelation'. Tragically he passed away in 1888 at the very young age of 38.

It is clear that in the middle of the 1870s many peregrines amongst the students studying in Scotland from Debrecen were attracted to evangelicalism and perceived the ecclesiastical life of the Scottish kirk as an example to be followed both its doctrine and practice. From 1873 onwards the students who visited Edinburgh introduced Scottish evangelicalism with its methods, associations and spirituality to Debrecen. These were conservative in their theological outlook, but in relation to society progressive and in line with the ideas of liberal democracy. The breakthrough that the Scots who provided the scholarships yearned for came primarily through the students from Debrecen during the mid-1870s. This fact modifies and serves to correct the long-held prominent in the church histories written in Budapest. These often claimed that the home mission work began with Aladár Szabó's in Budapest in the early 1880s. While it is true that Budapest succeeded in establishing voluntary organisations which only decades later became nationwide parachurch organisations for home mission, Debrecen managed to transplant models of Scottish evangelical society and instil that spirituality a decade earlier than Budapest, where liberal theology was prominent. Students of Debrecen like Ferenc Márk, Lajos Csiky and Endre Bethlendi were all, though in different ways, committed to the Scottish evangelicalism. They entertained the idea that spiritual renewal would take off from the confession based.

⁶⁵ Endre Bethlendi, 'A kijelentés módszere', *Debreceni Protestáns Lap* 4.19. (1884), pp. 157–158.

conservative theological stance of Debrecen's new Orthodoxy which was influenced by Scottish evangelicalism. They proved key individuals in carrying forward the Debrecen new orthodoxy begun by Imre Révész and Ferenc Balogh.⁶⁶ The initiatives and activities of this second generation of students, who all were disciples of Ferenc Balogh, could be appropriately labelled, as János Csohány, did 'the Debrecen awakening'.⁶⁷ Many of them made it into the leadership in the church or into academic life and exerted significant influence.

It is interesting to further explore why Debrecen, not Budapest, became the first place where Scottish evangelicals were able to connect to the Reformed Hungarians on a wider social scale. As a result of a debate between professor Mór Ballagi, a staunch liberal, and the Scottish mission in the later 1850s and early 1860s Scottish evangelicalism was forced to retreat to the newly established German Affiliated Church where the missionaries were the local ministers.⁶⁸ Parallel to this, another conflict took place in Pest between Ballagi and Lajos Filó, a professor of theology with conservative convictions, during the early 1860s which again resulted in the defeat of conservative theological position. Owing to these two developments and Aladár Szabó's activities, which started in Budapest in 1882, the evangelical-pietist work of the Scottish mission could only be implemented in isolated pockets. The activities of evangelicals were overwhelmingly confined to the mission station in the capitol. Both the conflicts delayed the development of the evangelical wave in Budapest by several

⁶⁶ Kovács, *Hitvédelem és egyháziasság*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ János Csohány, 'A XIX. századi magyar református ébredés debreceni ága', *Református Egyház* 24.9 (1974), pp. 193–197; 'A puritán paraszti közösségek válsága a kapitalizmus kialakulásának korában', *Theológiai Szemle* 1–2 (1974), pp. 36–39. See also Jenő Szigeti, *Protestáns népi olvasmányok a XIX. században az Alföldön*, Különlennyomat az Ethnographia 1973 évi számából (Budapest: 1973; Jenő Szigeti, 'A békési paraszt-ecclesiólák válsága és a baptista gyülekezet megalakulása (1890–1891)', in 'Mert ahogy ezt Isten hagyta'. *Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* (Budapest, 1986).

⁶⁸ Ábrahám Kovács, *A Budapesti Ev. Ref. Németajkú Leányegyház eredete és története 1858–1869* (Debrecen, 2004).

decades. Parallel to this Debrecen Reformed College became the headquarters of the so-called conservative tradition in the Hungarian Reformed Church, with a more specifically evangelical disposition which compensated for the liberal effect of Budapest theological seminary.⁶⁹ The new orthodoxy of Debrecen began to organise itself in the late 1860s just about the time the Scottish Free Kirk established the scholarship programme (1863) with a view to exert conservative influence on Hungarian Calvinism. Thus, the interest of the Scots and the Debrecen theologians met.

It was our intention to prove that the Debrecen Calvinist 'orthodoxy' – still yet to be further explored – preceded Aladár Szabó's missionary endeavour and had grown much fruit in the field of home mission a decade earlier. If we are to specify a progenitor of some sort than it is obvious that the movement in Debrecen began earlier in the late 1860s and it did manage to influence the Reformed communities.⁷⁰ However, this claim is not to lessen the extraordinary influence of the evangelical associations which began to mushroom through Szabó's activities from the 1880s. Indeed, voluntarism carried out through the YMCA, women's guilds, Sunday Schools and the like made an impressive impact in the other diocese (Duna Church District) and contributed greatly to the establishment of new Reformed congregations in the rapidly growing capitol. This activity is somewhat comparable to the 'church extension' movement of Church of Scotland in the early-nineteenth century in which Thomas Chalmers played a great role. The influence of Scottish evangelicalism, through the Debrecen college, was instilled into Reformed congregations in the Transibiscan diocese through the traditional church structures.

It is hard to gauge the amount of credit that Ferenc Balogh's impact deserves and further research needs to be conducted in order to outline more specifically how he handed down his evangelical view to generations of students. He taught in Debrecen from 1867

⁶⁹ Kovács, *History of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission*, pp. 178–183.

⁷⁰ Hangsúlyozom ennek hatása azonban még messze tovább kutatható.

until 1913. Balogh not only had a significant impact on Lajos Csiky, Ferenc Márk and Endre Bethlendi but also on second and third generations of theological students.⁷¹ A great example of this unparalleled impact is visible through Lajos Nánássy's life. He was born in Debrecen in 1881. He graduated from secondary school in his hometown in 1898. Nánássy was one of the students Ferenc Balogh recommended for the Edinburgh scholarship. The young scholar was the editor of a weekly periodical named *Közlöny* (Gazette) – an important printed voice for student theological society *HÖT* – in the academic year of 1900–1. Having finished his studies at Debrecen Reformed College in 1902, he continued his theological training in Edinburgh for one year (1902–3) before briefly travelling to Paris and Basel to attend theological lectures there. In 1904 he went to the United States of America and obtained a degree in Theology. As a minister he first served in Chicago and Windberg (both in 1907) before serving as a pastor in Perth Amboy in 1908. From 1929 he was the head of the Reformed Home for Orphans and the Elderly until he retired in 1944. He was an extraordinary churchman who excelled not only as a charismatic evangelical organiser of church life but also showed an intellectual edge by obtaining a Ph.D. in Arts in 1912. He was a prolific and popular writer. His more emphatic pieces include: 'Speech at the Remembrance Memorial Column of the Galley-Slaves' which was published as a pamphlet in a collection of works entitled *Memoir* in 1900. He made an abridged translation of Ferenc Balogh's church history, *History of the Reformed Church of Hungary*, in 1906. His works are primarily concerned with questions of Practical Theology, as is evidenced in *A Brief Outline of the Development and Current Forms of Christian Liturgies*. As we have seen, Nánássy was a significant person particularly as an administrator of church life among the Hungarian diaspora in the United States. For his service

⁷¹ Zoványi, p. 128.

among Hungarian expats he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Debrecen.⁷²

We can discover the increasing influence of Csiky, as well as the decisive role of Balogh, in Antal Vargha's life as well.⁷³ Vargha, who was an Edinburgh student during the school year of 1908–9, translated the tract 'The Cleansing of Naaman' (*Naámán megtisztulása*) into Hungarian.⁷⁴ It is likely that in connection with such translations that Vargha should be considered alongside the leader of the Debrecen new orthodoxy, Ferenc Balogh, and Csiky as one of the representatives of 'constructive theology'.⁷⁵ Both Balogh and his younger colleague, Csiky encouraged students like Vargha to translate tracts of British evangelicalism that conveyed calls for home and foreign missions as well as revivalist theology. These works laid stress on the Bible, Christ's atonement and the pursuit of voluntary activism by converted Christians through sharing the gospel in words and deeds. The majority of students residing in Edinburgh as bursars were deeply influenced by the Scottish evangelicals of the Free Kirk who took their Calvinist view of practical and confessing faith seriously in their daily lives. The evangelical influence may be evidenced through the instrumental role the Scottish mission played in the establishment of World Student Christian Federation (*MEKDSz*)⁷⁶ which several former Edinburgh scholarship holders joined. This is further evidenced in an article written by Lajos Szűcs, an Edinburgh student from Debrecen,

⁷² Zoványi, pp. 140, 434.

⁷³ Pápai Református Gyűjtemény (Reformed Collection of Pápa Reformed College) [Hereafter PRGy], Pongrácz József Gyűjtemény, DREL 22. d. Andrew Moody's levele Pongráczhoz 1909. június 23.

⁷⁴ It is worth paying attention to a curious fact that his later father-in-law was Lajos Csiky, Professor of Practical Theology in Debrecen, who proofread the text.

⁷⁵ Sándor Konez, *Hit és vallás. A magyar református vallástudományi teológia kibontakozása és ha nyatlásai*, Tanulmányok a Rendszeres Teológia és Segedtudományai köréből 6. (Debrecen, 1942), p. 103.

⁷⁶ This later changed to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students.

about his scholarship mate, István Benkő Jr, who was made the *MEKDSZ*'s new traveling secretary in 1912.⁷⁷

To present a nuanced picture, it has to be underscored that in addition to an evangelical influence, the representatives of the moderate liberal theological view among the students from Debrecen were less active in theology and instead focused their attention on the natural sciences (*Dapsy*) and church life (*Tabajdy*). Yet, from the evidence gathered, the influence of Scottish evangelicalism appears to have been dominant among those students who studied in Edinburgh. Several of these became professors of theology in Debrecen, Budapest, Sárospatak and Kolozsvár, while others became bishops and deans of presbyteries. To greater or lesser extents they all represented some trends of the Scottish Calvinism that they encountered, either the moderatism of the Church of Scotland or the evangelicalism of the Free Church. It is true that other students, who also studied theology at home but were primarily interested in liberal arts, were of liberal mind and impacted different layers of Hungarian Protestantism and the society at large. They moulded and shaped their religious piety with progressive ideas in an alternative way to the ones presented through evangelical influences. However, both theological trends sought to defend the Reformed Church of Hungary from contemporary challenges. While liberals desired to renew the spirituality of the church by developing new speculative theologies, the evangelicals prayed for a revival, held fast to the Creed and preferred conservative theology. Undoubtedly the evangelicals were also very progressive in their thoughts on social and political aspects of life, but they were not ready to sacrifice the tenets of traditional Christianity. While remaining theologically conservative, they established a fascinating network of voluntary revivalist associations that powerfully and effectively promoted successful efforts of home mission and more successfully advanced church-social work than the liberals did. The

⁷⁷ Jenő Szűcs, 'A Budapesti Evangéliumi Keresztyén diákegyesület', *Élet és Munka* 4.9 (1912), p. 71.

evangelical minded students of Edinburgh implemented Christian societies modelled on the Scottish examples which reached broader layers of Reformed society. In its peak period – between the world wars – the YMCA (*KIE*) and Scouting (*Cserkészzet*) typified the kinds of organisations that transformed the whole of the Reformed Church in Hungary. Evangelical revivalism influence spanned from the church hierarchy to the grassroots with the assistance of Scottish influences and left an indelible and precious imprint in the life and work of Reformed Church of Hungary. The liberals affected an influential elite of the church who were rather small in number but prominent in church governance. Their influence was also decisive. Though they did not sway big crowds towards liberal theology, the excellent literary work of liberals influenced the highly educated who still held crucial positions in the life of the church. Even a century later, their literary achievements have yet to be surpassed.

A Short Survey of Data: Theological Students in Edinburgh (1843-1914)

In total eighty-eight Hungarians studied in Edinburgh between 1843 and 1914. The list began with Alfred Edersheim and finished with Endre Kájel.⁷⁸ Of this number twenty-seven students (or approximately 30%) came from Debrecen. The name of Ferenc Balogh, who played a key role in the selection process for the scholarships, is not included in the extant Matriculation Book.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, there is archival evidence he also studied at New College for three months.⁸⁰ To this list of students another six persons can be added who studied in other faculties at the University of Edinburgh, but only basic information can be gleaned about a few of them. Most of the non-theological students studied medicine or

⁷⁸ See full list in the Appendix.

⁷⁹ Richárd Höresik, 'History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh', New College, Edinburgh, HOR I, ff. 1–56.

⁸⁰ Ferenc Balogh, *Edinburghi Napló* (Edinburgh Diary), Debreceni University Library, Ms 28/3, ff. 1–433.

classical disciplines. Counting the New College bursars, as well as the non-theological students of the university, altogether ninety-four Hungarians studied in Edinburgh up to 1914.

Despite a tradition that spanned seventy-one years, the peregrination completely ceased during the World War I, due in part to that fact that no one was allowed to leave the country during the war. But the flow of students began in 1920 when Sándor Csekey, later theology professor in Budapest, went to Edinburgh. In the years that followed twenty-eight Hungarians studied at Edinburgh, before war again prevented travel in 1938/39. Sometimes students only spent a short period of study in Edinburgh. László Kolozsváry-Kiss and Endre Kajel arrived to Edinburgh in January and February 1914 and stayed only for one semester.⁸¹ Similarly, Iván Konkoly could also spend only a semester at New College beginning in February 1937.⁸² An interesting fact is that Ferenc Gáthy, a student of Pápa Theological Seminary, was the only one who studied at another Scottish university, although he eventually moved from Aberdeen to Edinburgh in 1923.⁸³ Out of the twenty-eight students who studied in Scotland between the two world wars only three (E. C. Papp 1923–4, Sándor Dancsházi 1924–25, A. Doczi 1929–1930) came from Debrecen. Out of the total number of 122 bursars, altogether thirty students came from Debrecen. The most important period, not just in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the theological influence were the years between 1865 and 1892. These men greatly shaped the Hungarian Reformed Church and through them Hungary was influenced by the strong theological and social tendencies of Scottish evangelicalism. In particular, they shaped the Debrecen's school of new orthodoxy and instilled evangelicalism a decade before it took root in Budapest.

Abraham Kovács and Richárd Hörcsik
Debrecen Reformed Theological University, Hungary

⁸¹ Hörcsik, 'History of the Hungarian Scholarship at Edinburgh', f. 53.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

Appendix

List of scholarship students from Debrecen in Edinburgh

1. Ferenc Balogh 1865
2. László Dapsy 1865–66
3. Lajos Tabajdy 1866–67, 1867–1868
4. Ferenc Márk 1873–74, 1874–75
5. Gábor Jancsi 1874–75
6. Lajos Csiky 1874–75, 1875–1876
7. Endre Betlendi 1875–76, 76–77
8. Péter Ambrus 1877–78
9. Gyula Tereh 1881–82, 1882–83
10. István Sulyok 1885–86
11. Zoltán Török 1886–7, 1887–1888
12. János Budai, 1886–7, 1887–1888
13. Imre Mindszenti, 1888–1889
14. György Gulya 1888–1889
15. Ferenc Balogh 1891–92
16. Lajos Nánássy 1902–3
17. Sándor Bokor 1902–3
18. Árpád Kövér 1905–6
19. Antal Vargha 1908–9
20. Zoltán Szabó 1910–11
21. Lajos Szűcs 1911–12
22. István Szombati Szabó 1912–13
23. Sándor Falusi 1913–14
24. László Kiss Kolozsvári 1913–14
25. E.C. Papp 1923–4
26. Sándor Dancsházi 1924–25
27. Alexander Dóczi 1929–1930
28. Tibor Nagy 1958–59
29. György Horváth 1873–74
30. Botond Gaál 1975–76
31. Sándor Szabó 1978–79

32. Zsigmond Vad 1979–80
33. Zsolt Kádár 1980–81
34. Sándor Tenke 1981–82
35. Ferenc Kádár 1982–83
36. Béla Orosz 1983–84
37. Richárd Hörcsik 1985–1986
38. Gábor Pluhár 1996–97

